

THE RUTLAND HERALD.

power to suggest for your consideration a course of State legislation calculated to relieve the community, and restore again a sound currency and the regular operations of commercial intercourse. But it seems to me plain that, as the evils have come upon us by the action of the general government, we must look to the same source for the legislation which shall relieve us. A currency, to flavor the great evils for which it is designed, must be issued in its character, and it is in vain to expect that the independent action of 20 different Governments can ever produce a uniform or wholesome state, without more concert of action than can ever be hoped in their legislation. The remedy for this national evil must be found in National Legislation.

It is in vain, therefore, for the people to look to their State Governments for relief, but their wishes and demands must be carried to the halls of Congress, where alone the power exists to remedy the evils under consideration.

I am aware that the existence of this beneficial power is denied, upon the authority of men high in office. But I cannot yield my assent to propositions which regard government as created merely for its own sake, and destined mainly to collect revenue in a currency of its own, to enable it to carry on its operations and pay its officers. Government, as republicans understand it, is created, not as an end, but as a means of advancing the interest, maintaining the rights, and protecting the property and the persons of the people; and those who are the incumbents of its offices are not a privileged class, for whose benefit and support exactions are made upon the people, but agents to carry forward and foster the great objects it has in view, the prosperity and happiness of the whole community.

It is peculiarly unfortunate, after a long series of experiments upon the subject without doubt or hesitation, when those experiments have failed, and the old institutions are broken up, and we are in the midst of doubt, confusion and embarrassment, and are looking with anxiety for relief to our national government, that those who administer it should be unexpectedly doubtful of their authority, and scrupulous of using the means in their power, and that these doubts should be carried to the extent of proposing a separation between the government and the people in the matter of currency. It is in the power of Congress to make this separation by compelling the payment of all dues to the Government, in gold and silver, dissolving all connexion with banks and making each collecting officer a special depository; thus extending most claimingly executive patronage and power and leaving the people to manage as they are able with a depreciated or fluctuating paper currency. But it may well be doubted whether, by such a course, the grand object for which Government was constituted will be answered, or whether thinking people will long consent to a scheme which must benefit the few, to the injury and distress of the many.

A government which aims at nothing higher than to sustain itself, as an independent or even antagonistic power to the people, which created it, and which regards no other view than to keep itself in motion, is not such a government as our fathers instituted, and we ought to enjoy. The great and leading object of good government is the welfare of the people, and the operations of its machinery are only important as they subserve those ends. The interests of such a government and those of the people are one and inseparable—one currency for the people and another for the government and its officers, would be absurd as well as ruinous. I regard it as clearly within the power, as it is the duty of the General Government to take care of the national currency, and to adopt those measures which shall speedily and surely restore to us a sound and healthy circulation, which will be doubly welcomed and valued from the sufferings we have experienced since its destruction.

XXVII CONGRESS.—1ST REGULAR SESSION.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE

TUESDAY, JAN. 10, 1828.

THE VERMONT RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. S. rose and said that he would now, agreeably to notice given on a former day, present the resolutions of the Legislature of his State, and in presenting them, he would also excuse him to say that they were presented on a former occasion, so as not to interfere with any opposition to the motion he had made on the resolutions on the table, and print them, and more especially he did not anticipate any opposition from those senators who are the advocates of the right of the States, but in that he was disappointed, they had been the first to oppose them.

He had no objection to the presenting them, either as they appeared in the resolutions themselves—Nor did the people of his state need any vindication from him of their right to entertain, express, and maintain here and elsewhere, the opinions expressed on these resolutions. As one of the States of the Union, they were as free, and as secure in their rights by the Constitution, the right of expressing their opinions did not in all respects which are before Congress, but in what are legislative subjects for its regulation.

He and the Senate might condemn their opinions, but he protested against their right of denying them the privilege of expressing them, or of impeaching their measures for doing so; and he would now call the attention of the Senate to the resolutions, and the sentiments thereof expressed. He should not advert to them at this time, as it makes a remark connecting them, does not the resolutions, and the motives of those who adopted them, bear strongly, as he thought, against himself.

[Here Mr. S. read the resolutions, which are as follows.]

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to use their influence in that body to prevent the annexation of Texas to the Union.

2. Resolved, That, representing, as we do, the Peo-

ple of Vermont, we do hereby, in their name, solemnly protest against such annexation in any form.

3. Resolved, That, as the representatives of the people of Vermont, we do solemnly protest against the admission into this Union of any State whose Constitution tolerates domestic slavery.

4. Resolved, That Congress has full power, by the Constitution, to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of the United States.

5. Resolved, That Congress has the constitutional power to prohibit the slave trade between the several States of the Union, and to make such laws as shall effectually prevent such trade.

6. Resolved, That the Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to present the foregoing report and resolution to their respective Houses in Congress, and to use their influence in carrying the same speedily into effect.

7. Resolved, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions to the President of the United States, to the Legislature of the several States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Mr. S. said he regretted an exception would be taken to the first resolution, by two Senators, excepting the 4th and 5th. The fifth resolution, however, asserts the power of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories of the United States, without expressing the expressness of exercising that power, and yet, from the whole tenor of the resolutions, he had no doubt that those who supported them did believe that it was expedient for Congress to do so, and at least to some extent, immediately to exercise that power—to co-operate with other citizens of the State, common that slavery is allowed to exist in any portion of the country where Congress is a exclusive legislator, and that until abolition is effected, each State participates in slavery, and that the government is subordinate to the charge of being a slaveholding government. He believed that comparatively few would deny the power exercised in this resolution, however much the expediency of exercising that power may be doubted.

The fifth resolution, which was introduced by the Hon. Senator from Georgia, (Mr. Calhoun), was not, as appears by minutes appended to the resolutions, passed by the Legislature, though it was adopted by the popular branch of it. This resolution asserts the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States to prohibit the sale and transfer of slaves from one State to another. Mr. S. did not feel particularly called on this time to assert and maintain the principle he has expressed, yet he would wish for the Senate to be advised of the Constitution on which this opinion was founded, and which is in these words: "The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States." It cannot be contended that the grant of power to regulate commerce among the states is not a great *item*, as it is to regulate commerce with foreign nations; and yet under this grant of power foreign commerce has not only been restricted, but the importation of articles of foreign commerce has been prohibited; and it will not be contended by Senators from slaveholding States that slaves are not articles of commerce, they are said to be a part of a man's goods and half-lives, things, not persons. The people of Vermont are not singular in their opinion asserted in this resolution; it is an opinion which prevails extensively, and has been fully asserted on this floor, in the resolutions of the honorable Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Moore), which have been entertained and printed by order of the Senate, and laid on our tables. And when those resolutions are discussed, as he supposed they soon will be, it will be all the light necessary to ascertain what will be the result.

It is quite impossible for me to express in adequate terms how much I regret the course which was pursued on the occasion to which I refer; and, especially, how deeply I regret that remarks were made at the time, not only as it appeared to me, unbecoming the *scrupulous* few who did duty in this resolution, but also as it appeared to me, unbecoming the *scrupulous* few who did duty in this resolution. The language used is very *distressing* to me, and it is difficult to distinguish the feelings of any member of this body. My only purpose is to discharge a duty which I owe to the Legislature and People of the State I represent.

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